

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

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who are *tsunam*; in the case of commoners the occasion goes unmarked, and there is no change of name. Theoretically the previous name is now taboo and should be heard no more, but in practice it is often retained.

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In adult life, names are changed chiefly as a result of death. No change is made on marriage, or on the birth of a child, but if the child should die, both mother and father take another name as part of their mourning. A woman who loses her first-born will call herself Tchinamoa, 'mother of one (dead child)', and will continue to use that name even after the birth of other children who survive. Similarly, the child's father will be called Tamanamoa, 'father of one'. Other names assumed in consequence of the loss of children are Tamanakets, 'father of a buried (child)', Tamana-guwur (from *taguwur*, a child who dies of croup), Bunamoa, 'grandparent of one (dead child)', &c. One woman who had lost all her children styled herself, pathetically, Tchinpasen, 'Mother alone'. An odd hybrid name is Tchinarop, the mother of a child who died at Rabaul and was let down into the grave with a rope. Similarly, a child will mark the loss of a parent by calling himself Moitaman or Ketaman, 'no father' (*ke* being an abbreviation of *ake*, no, not). In the latter case the name referred to the loss of the individual's father's brother, his actual father being still alive. Loss of a mother may be marked by taking the name Tatchinan (*ake ta t'ina*), 'no mother'. A widow will sometimes take some name connected with her husband's death, but this is not nearly so general as the change upon the death of a child.

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For the death of a child or an adult commoner, only the nearer relatives change their names, and even this appears to be done at the discretion of the individual. The former name may remain in use, and after a time the assumed name is heard mainly from those who find it convenient because the personal name is taboo to them. But for the death of a *tsunam* every one in the village, even the children, will change, adopting some name having a bearing on the catastrophe. Sarumpots, the brother of Pinari (the same man who figures in the story told on a previous page), had his leg bitten off by a shark, in consequence of which he died. Every one in the place took some name connected with this disaster. Two persons—father and daughter (no relation to Sarumpots)—took the name Baki, a word meaning 'shark', not in the dialect spoken at Kurtatchi, but in that of Hanahan on Buka, a village with which Kurtatchi

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551 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called Tchina'-
 565 eviat; *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito,
 the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing
 765 when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door
 neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its
 victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of
 importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never
 succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had
 been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No
 one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used
 by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal
 name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the
 use of words which are the same as these names, for which some
 substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from
 another dialect.

551 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact
 177 with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no
 hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving
 me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substi-
 tute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one
 standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself
 alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife,
 whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but
 I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[591] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined
 to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of
 the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white
 man, no can loose im.'

SUMMARY

612 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society
 613 may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the
 mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is
 591 the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the
 ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between
 the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house
 (his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the
 individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is
 to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari. 595

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year. [587] [302 765]

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife. [789]

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store. [157]

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years. 593

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried. [586] [164]

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Taonaketi, who was previously divorced from Takoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Takoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

- 323 not often in demand. A very small pot is called *kolo* (Pl. 61a, no. 2).
415 The other shape is elliptical, with a lip at each end for pouring. It is called *hepa* (Pl. 61a, no. 3). Its main use is for boiling the squeezed oil of grated coco-nuts to be added to pounded taro in the manufacture of ceremonial pudding (see p. 274) by the men.

Barter of pots.

- 438 Natives from all over Buka and the north-western end of Bougainville make trips to Malasang to trade for pots, and the Malasang people also bring them, sometimes, in canoes to other villages for barter. Their subsequent exchange for other goods carries them still farther afield. A medium-sized pot can be bought for three sticks of tobacco (the equivalent of one shilling) or an equal value in paint, cloth, &c. A large pot is worth four or five sticks, a very small one may be had for two. They are packed up very skillfully in the areca-palm fibre carriers (*koba*), and are taken to their destination on the backs of the women, piled so high that it seems almost impossible for them to arrive intact, yet they do (Pl. 61b).

- 201 Pots are broken ceremonially by their owners as a sign of anger or grief. The pots of a dead woman used to be broken by the mourners, but this custom is dying out.
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- 323 I have not discovered any use that is made of potsherds. They lie about in large quantities in every village and on the sites of deserted villages. They are not broken up fine to serve as grit in the making of new pots, as is done by some primitive people.

- 323 The most careful inquiries failed to elicit any legends or traditions connected with the origin of pottery-making, the first potter, or the discovery of the clay. All they could tell me was that the craft had been practised for so long that nobody knew how it started. It is exceedingly flourishing at the present day, and there seems no likelihood of its dying out, or even being modified by the introduction of European tools, for some considerable time to come.
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TERMS USED IN POTTERY-MAKING

(Malasang Dialect)

323 Materials and tools.

192 Term

Explanation

pétako

a greenish clay, obtained just below the surface soil in the bush.

mémia

substance said to resemble reddish sand, obtained from a hole in the side of a mountain some distance inland.

302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[751] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g.
[404] a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin*
856 and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few
184 villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop
856 on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 The father of a boy wearing the *api* will often let his hair grow
593 long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay,
581 without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the
765 mourning is ended.

302 Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*,
512 or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few
177 returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

AESTHETIC ARTS

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302 or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded [513] as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to
565 put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition
765 extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

Ornaments.

301 Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of [527] the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; [524] this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *hakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

The belts made by women during the period of mourning
424 AESTHETIC ARTS for a

301 *tsunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre
765 growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in
565 the west are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*);
283 white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with
824 sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves
of a plant called *kiki'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric).

The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's hoods, dyed with *rivo* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Deformation of the Person.

304 **Head.** Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is increased by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board
854 deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head form at all.

304 **Nose.** A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go through the hole and will not eat the body.¹

304 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing.
852 But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourning for a *tsunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

¹ See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 236) who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could follow the easy path.

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Woven designs.

301 The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the
531 mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the
[438] designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5,
which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to represent
a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

• 765 A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning
531 belt.

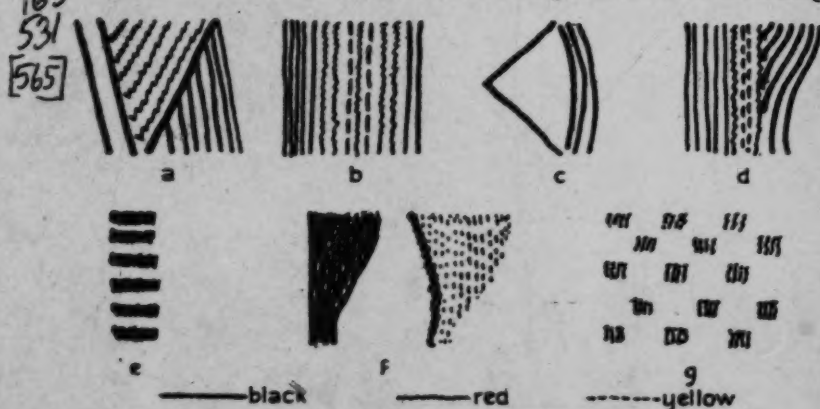


FIG. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (a) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (b) *taparo*, name of pattern; (c) *wuwus*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (d) *bas*, the iguana; (e) *wirē*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (f) *katfian*, croton leaves; (g) *owan a tō*, fruit of the sago palm.

Patterns on pottery.

323 The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks
531 and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the
finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61a). At Malasang,
[422] where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being
put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I
noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive
pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several
owners.

436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage than *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

[171] *Imun* consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, 1a, 1b). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a gau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started 11½ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and 13½ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

[435] A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep [765] them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who [565] has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tsunain* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never [301] used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

764 The coffin was carried to the burial ground by eight men, relatives of the dead man and neighbours, supported on their upraised arms, not on their shoulders. The lid was fastened down with rope at the side of the grave, into which the coffin was lowered with ropes and flexible canes. A few people threw earth into it—they must, I suppose, have seen the missionary do this—the women then went away, and the men finished the filling in, planting cordylines at the head and foot and at the sides, to mark the spot.¹ Then the men, after washing, went to the dead man's house and ate taro and yams. They put a dab of lime on their temples at each side. Anybody may take part in this meal, not only the kinsmen. This concluded the funeral. I was told that in the olden times there would have been a special dance, but this was not done any more.

• 765 On December 19, i.e. about six weeks after the death, Tsirisia's son gave a ceremonial meal. This feast, to which I was specially invited, consisted chiefly of ceremonial pudding and taro; the place of pig was taken by tins of meat which they can buy at a store on a neighbouring island. I was given a place of honour on the front verandah of the 'men's house', where the older men were sitting. The younger men were grouped in front of a house opposite. The women were all inside the house in which the man had died. One of the men said grace and all the people said Amen. Then the dishes (made of spathes of areca-palm) of ceremonial pudding were given out. One was handed to me, a large one was sent in to the women, and another to the younger men congregated opposite. One was taken to an old man who was too feeble to attend. We sat round eating and talking for some time, and then one by one the men drifted off, some taking part of the funeral feast with them for consumption at home.

Regulations for the relatives

765 The widow and the mother of the dead man were obliged to stay near the house until the feast just described, i.e. for about six weeks.
178 This was a modification of the old custom, according to which they would have had to spend this time in seclusion inside it. After the feast they were at liberty to resume their normal activities.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

¹ This was the reason given, but the use of cordylines would appear to be traditional, since these plants are connected with death, as well as having other ritual significance, in the old belief.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had

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body smeared with black paint, which was also matted into thick blobs in her hair. The widow showed none of these traditional signs of mourning, contrary to the old custom, which prescribed that the widow must put ashes on her hair and skin and must have her arms and legs rubbed with the skin of a banana which has been dipped in a mixture of red ochre and coco-nut oil. This she had to retain all the time she remained in the house. She may not eat whatever food was last eaten by her husband previous to his death. In the olden days, at the end of the period of mourning she would have become the wife of his brother, but this practice has been given up in deference to the wishes of the missionary, who encourages, while not enforcing, monogamy. It is now becoming customary for a widow not to marry again, but if a man loses his wife he usually takes another. 765 302 178 [587] 797

Fate of the soul

I was told by one of the principal men of the village that in the olden times they thought the spirit (*abiap* in the Petats dialect, equivalent to the Kurtatchi *abin*, not to *urar* which is represented by *amat*) of the dead man came out of the hole where he was buried and came back and stayed in his house, so they destroyed the house and by this means destroyed the *abiap*. The dead man's coco-nut palms and other property were also destroyed. Now the mission has taught them to believe that the *abiap* 'goes up on top' and does not come back. 775 768 [797]

It is thought that the *abiap* goes about looking for the person who had poisoned him. When it has found him it tells him: 'You poisoned me, you will die soon.' Soon after the man dies, and the people know it was he who poisoned the other man. This belief appears to be held still, though it is no longer customary, as in the olden days, to put a piece of bamboo through the wall of the house and question it as to who was responsible for the death. It was supposed to move about and thus to indicate the answer. They say it does not work at Petats any more, but assert that it still acts at Lontis. 775 761 178

Disposal of the dead man's possessions

In the case of Tairisia, his pigs had been eaten by his relatives during his illness, at his own request. No further destruction of 768

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While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the *lingua franca*.

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NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU,
LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good to bury him because some one might come and dig him up.¹ Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the fire which cooked the pigs for the feast.

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NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it. Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives change their names.

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¹ This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *balabane* (see p. 427).

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thrown into the sea with the body. But his pillow remains behind 764.
in the house; a special feast is made for it at a later time, perhaps [765] two or three years after, when it is burnt, with spears and other things, and pig is cooked on the fire. The widow stays in the house while the man is being buried, together with the young girls. The men and the old women of the village go to the graveyard. The widow continues to wail all that day, after the others have ceased. She must not eat till her husband 'is gone out of her sight'.

If the wife was very fond of her husband, she may request that his body be buried in the house. Sometimes the body is kept thus for a time and then the bones are taken up and buried in the graveyard, sometimes it stays in the house where it was first buried.

After the burial, whether in the house or in the graveyard, the front verandah (*tagoan*, the men's side) is closed up with coco-nut leaves, and the bush is left to grow up round it. The man's wives, and his mother if she is alive, stop inside the house, and are looked after by the other women of the village. They put black paint (*tšina*) on their bodies which they must smear all over. They cut their hair short when they first go into seclusion; it is left to grow while they are shut up. 765 [302]

While they remain in the house the women make special belts (*mō*) (see Pl. 75 and Chap. XI, p. 436) with an intricately woven pattern of several colours. If the deceased is a person of rank they must make enough belts for every man and woman of the village to wear. This sometimes takes as long as eight or ten months (for a commoner two or three months is enough). The women remain shut up all this time. The bush grows up round the house, so that it is scarcely seen, and the pigs defile the front verandah. [294 565]

When enough belts have been made, a time is fixed for the women to come out. Then men clear a path to their taro gardens which have been looked after meanwhile by their friends. They put on more *tšina*, but are not allowed to use *oin* (red paint). They put on the belts. The men take spears, and give each woman two arrows (*amay*) set with bones of the flying fox. They come out holding these. They go round to the front of the house and break the fence of coco-nut leaves round the front verandah. This is done in the early morning. They go back to their own side of the house (*babots*), and stay a little while, then they go to the taro garden. They must plant some taro in a special corner of the garden (*manib*). When they have finished they take off the belts, [302]

- 765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place called *wanib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn.

- [778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying: 'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

- [565] Then one man who is *tsunaun* makes a fire and calls the names of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the women plant.¹ While they are working they must not eat. If they were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again. Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat a little in the *wanib*.

- 765 Then a *ta'un* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the
824 *wanib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden.

- 565 The *ta'un* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then a man who is *tsunaun* calls out the name of the man who has died.

- 765 The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man
775 calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes
824 howling. The *tsunaun* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village, all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'un*; if it bends over, the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.² If it does not bend, the

¹ As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

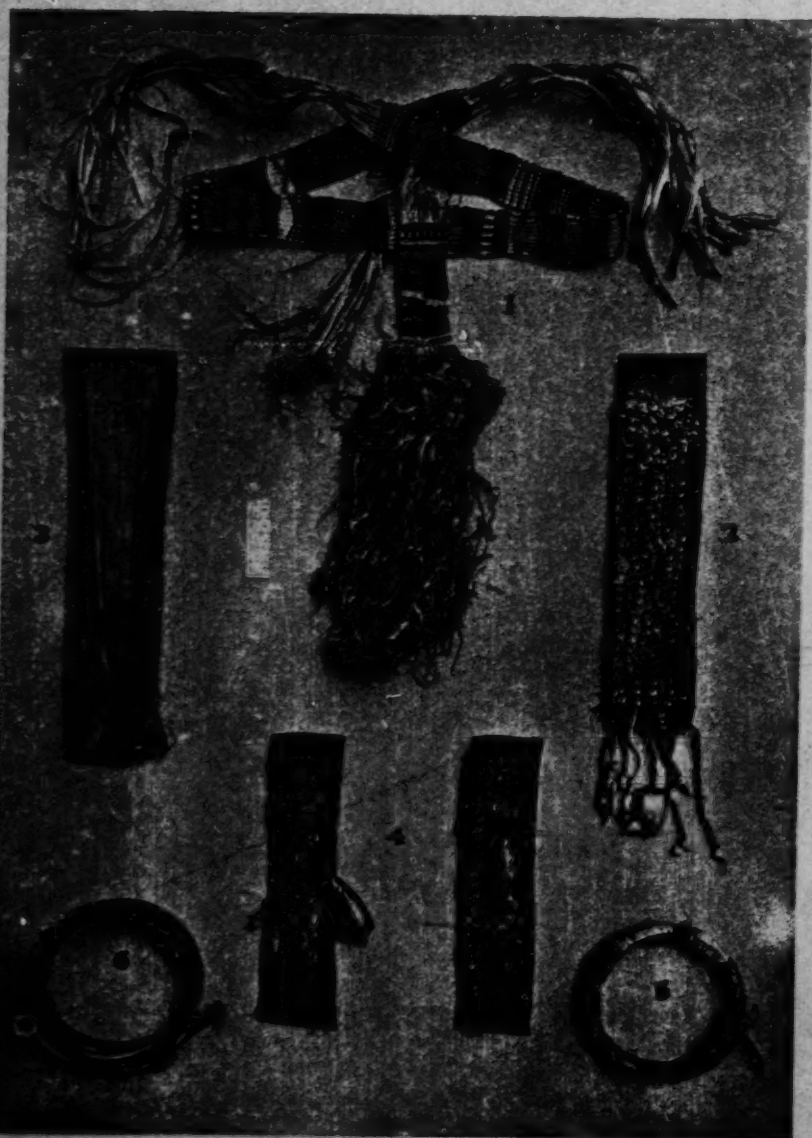
[763] ² Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely
824 ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *markit* and give some to the sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to Tchiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *shurur*. They also taught it to another man who is now dead.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 75



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CEREMONIAL WEAR

1. Mourning belt. 2, 4. Front of widow's belt. 3. Cover for storing these.
5, 6. Cane belts for girl at puberty ceremony (rolled up for storing).

Facing
p. 487

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765 man's spirit is ashamed. In that case the *ta'un* plant is pulled up
 775 and thrown away. But if it bends it is taken up and put on to a
 324 man's shoulders. If it is a woman who has died her hood is put
 on the top of the plant, on the man's shoulders. It is felt by the man
 carrying it to be heavy. When he gets tired he calls out and another
 man takes it from him. Perhaps it will suddenly cease to be heavy.
 This means that the spirit has gone to relieve himself. Then the
 man carrying it stands still and waits till he feels it to be heavy
 again, then he calls out and they all go on again.

When they get back to the village they all go into their own houses
 and fasten the doors and remain silent. The man carrying the
ta'un goes straight to the front of the dead person's house and enters
 it and plants the *ta'un* inside the house. Then the dead person's
 spirit stays inside the house.

765 From this time until the ceremony for the removal of the belts,
 515 all the people of the village must refrain from washing themselves,
 302 from cutting their hair, and from the use of red paint on their heads
 and bodies. This applies to children as well as to adults.

765 On the following day, all the men and women who wear the belts
 go and wash their legs in the sea. They take a tree with many
 branches and set it up on the shore, fixing it in the sand. Then the
 women go and search for shell-fish on the reef, wailing the wail
 for the dead the while. They must catch a large quantity of shell-
 fish. The men sit down on the beach, or they may, if they like, go
 and catch fish with nets.

When enough shell-fish have been collected they make a fire on
 the beach, and make it flare up. They call upon the *urar*, and say:
 '*Tamu sen en ia, so bai'i gag, ner wopots no in ta tamu.*' ('Here is
 your taro, eat it, then the children can drink, and will grow strong
 because of the taro.') Then some taro is put on the fire. They all
 take their lime-pots with lime in them, and walk round the fire
 holding them in their hands, then they tap on the lime-pots, take
 out some lime, and put it in their ears. The belts are now taken
 down from the branches of the tree and put on again. The shell-
 fish are put into baskets and the women take them back to the
 village and cook them. The women eat the shell-fish at the back
 verandah. If the men have caught any fish they cook it for them-
 selves at the front verandah. If they have plenty they send some
 to the women, if they have none the women send them some
 shell-fish.

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- 765 The period of seclusion for the women is now finished, they may go to the taro garden, go fishing, and take up their ordinary life. The belts are still worn. If it rains they are taken off and covered up: it would be a very bad thing for the rain to wash the dirt off them.

765 When it is time to remove the belts a big feast is made. This is called *wakuruts m5*. The time is fixed by the person who is now
574 *tsunaun*, and depends very largely upon the quantity of food
527 available. People come from all the villages round, even for a long distance, all the people who came to wail at the funeral. If they wish they may bring pig and taro to help the dead person's relatives, who go some distance to meet the visitors and bring in the pigs. The feast lasts for one day only. The next day the belts are taken off, a big basket (*bōna*, the kind used by the women in collecting shell-fish) is filled with them. All the people must take off their belts at the same time. The belts are washed before they are put into the basket. Leaves of a variegated plant called *5ts* are fixed to the basket and it is fastened up with them. Stones are then piled into the basket and it is thrown away into the sea. (But after the practice of interment at sea was given up and burial in the ground took its place, the basket of belts was burnt instead.)

- 765 Then all the people cut their hair and put red paint on their hair
302 and round their eyes. They clean up the village, and sound the slit-gong. The taboo is finished. The widow is now free to marry again.¹

House-burial

- 766 An instance of the burial of a body in the dwelling-house came under my personal observation at Kurtatchi.² Krapen, husband of Wakos, had died some time before my arrival—the exact interval I could not ascertain, but I think it was probably less than a year. His wife, who was very much attached to him, desired that he should be buried in the house, and this was done. At the time of my arrival, the huts of the old village of Gomen were all being

¹ It is exceedingly difficult to obtain from these people even an approximate estimate of time, but the whole period of mourning appears to have occupied at least as much as a year.

² At the time of my residence at Petats I was unaware of this custom. I subsequently inquired whether it was ever done there, and was informed that in the past babies used sometimes to be buried inside the house; I could not learn of any cases of adults being so disposed of.

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moved to join the neighbouring village of Kurtatchi, as explained in Chapter I. Wako's house was left in its old position; they said it could not be moved because Krapen's body was buried under it, and if the site was left uncovered some one would 'shoot' it, and his spirit would be angry. A new house was therefore built for Wakos at Kurtatchi. Krapen's pillow was also preserved in the house. All his pigs but one had been eaten at his funeral, the remaining one was to be cooked when his bones were taken up and buried in the graveyard. They said this would be done at some future time, to be decided by the deceased's mother's brother. But on my returning after a few day's absence at Petats for the purpose of removing my belongings to Kurtatchi, I found that the reburial had taken place in the interval. As I had been with these people for a very short time, it is not unlikely that they took advantage of my absence to carry out this delicate operation unembarrassed by the presence of a stranger, though they were tactful enough to explain to me that it had been decided upon hastily to facilitate the rebuilding of the village in its new position! His pillow was stored carefully away in the house after its removal to Kurtatchi, and still remained there at the time of my departure nine months later. Three other pillows were also awaiting disposal. They had to remain where they were for a long time; finally a great feast was to be held for all of them at once, after which they would be burnt. The last remaining one of Krapen's pigs had been kept for this feast, to be cooked at the fire on which his pillow was burnt.

Further details concerning funerary rites

The information presented in the following paragraphs was collected at various times from different informants in the course of discussion and conversation. Since the utmost care has always to be exercised in asking questions, the fact that the old customs have been given up, and that I had in consequence no opportunity of discussing them apropos of an actual funeral, must have resulted in the omission of many important details, and also made very difficult any attempt to ascertain what significance was attached by the natives to the different portions of the funerary ritual.

The body, when buried, seems always to have been placed in the extended position. No special orientation seems to have been given to the grave, for in all the graveyards I visited no attempt

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the water they were cooked in and wash the man all over. Then they put out his eyes with a stick. The dead man climbs a tree, and jumps off it into the sea, then he goes back to the place where he died. The people cannot see him, he can call out for food, that's all. They put some food for him into the fire. He stops for some time, rather a long time. All the time he stays his relatives must

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FIG. 29. Young man's drawing representing men who are dead and have become *urur*. Their legs have rotted away. The claw-like objects represent their 'water that has come down'. The one on the right has not long been dead and his body has not decayed yet.

not wash themselves, they must not eat taro, they must not eat the last food he ate before he died, if he was smoking just before he died they must not smoke. His wife must stop inside the house, she must not work. She makes belts for everybody, enough for all to wear.

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All the women put on these belts and do a dance. The near relatives of the dead man wail. They go to the place where the man is buried and make a fire on the top of his grave; they bring fish and taro and put them in the fire. Some lime is put in also; then they march round the fire. They all put lime in their ears. After this they may wash, and eat taro, all except the mother and father and wife of the dead man, they must keep the taboos strictly for a long time yet, they must not comb their hair nor clean their

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DEATH AND THE URAR

- 765 bodies. After about three or four months more they make a feast and invite all the people from every village. They play the Pan-pipes. After that they can comb their hair and make their skin clean, all the taboos are finished. The man's spirit does not stop in the place any more, it goes to Tatan'ora and stays there, and the people do not think about him any more.
- [775]

Characteristics and powers of the urar

(These details were obtained from various informants at different times, all of them more than once.)

- 775 The *urar* are usually invisible to men, but they can make themselves visible when they like. They can also talk to men, but for this they need lime. If they have no lime they cannot talk. They can talk without being visible. They can also whistle, and they have a cry like that of a bird, which is heard in the bush at night. They can transform themselves into various animals and birds, or take the shapes of trees, stones, and other natural objects.¹ When thus disguised they are visible to men in their assumed forms, but they have no power of speech.
- [823]

Men sometimes meet and talk with *urar* thinking they are human beings, but suddenly recognize them for what they are 'because their eyes are light'. Animals sense the presence of *urar* when they are invisible to men. If they go near a village 'the fowls cry out, the pigs cry out, the dogs cry out'.

The *urar* are represented as eating excrement. Some like to eat human beings, and will trick them into getting lost in the bush or otherwise catch them alone, and take them to their own place and eat them.

Otherwise, they are thought to live much the same kind of lives in the place of the *urar* as they did when they were alive. They retain their individual characteristics of sex and age, they eat, sleep, practise sexual intercourse (with humans also, according to the stories), and hold feasts and dances. Living persons who penetrate into their abode are discovered by their smell, and are either made captive and eaten, or, if befriended by some of the *urar*, are hidden from the rest and sent home until such time as they die. A number of stories in my collection deal with episodes of this kind, and though these *urar* are supposed to deal with the past, such inci-

¹ This matter is discussed in detail in Chapter XV, pp. 300-31.

Burial Practices

Obviously, a person's death also gives rise to many festivities and ceremonies. In Buka and north Bougainville only two methods of burial are known: namely, ahäre kuerre or submerging the corpse at sea; and ha zërokere de akui or burying the corpse. During the burial a great meal (a kānano a kapane) is provided by the survivors. The dance that is performed afterwards is called a kūmar. These festivities in honor of the deceased are repeated from time to time. During the ceremony men and women paint themselves white. -- In south Bougainville in Shortland the method is similar, but here cremation is also known, which is called hanghāli in Shortland and kasivei in Bougainville. Cremation of the body is a mark of the aristocrat and probably a custom imported from the south. Less exalted people are buried (mōā kūsisai in Bougainville and nahonaha in Shortland) or submerged in the ocean (fanfantup in Shortland and on the coast). No matter what sort of burial, great banquets are the rule at all of them; naturally the cremation of the aristocrats is carried out on a magnificent scale. The funeral pyre is erected in the village itself, usually rectangular and flanked at each corner by a high pole. This pole is frequently carved roughly in the shape of a human face at the upper end and painted black or red; but I also saw very simple poles with no painting or carving; the latter as well as the former were called kakalo. After the corpse is placed on the pyre, the pyre is lighted to the accompaniment of loud lamenting and howling. The burning never suffices to transform the body completely into ashes; the bone remains are carefully collected by the family and kept for several days in the hut of the deceased; during this period the lament rarely ceases, and it is especially the wives who develop a particular virtuosity in this respect. After this period the actual burial of the remains takes place. In the place where the corpse was burned, between the four kakalo, a pit is dug and an earthen jug is deposited in it; the remains of the corpse are placed in this jug and a second jug is inverted over it, serving as a lid for the first; then the pit is filled up with dirt. This procedure is called irināfui in Shortland and nōmokai in Bougainville. Simultaneously most of the relatives put on a big banquet (funfapassa in Shortland and kāna mīnavaī in Bougainville), whereby everything edible is served, with the exception of taro, which is forbidden on this occasion. The women put on mourning as before by covering their faces and the upper

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chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

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Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siual, but likewise no farther north than there.

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

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Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

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766 DEVIANT MORTUARY PRACTICES--abbreviated and extended funerals; distinctive mortuary rites in special cases of death (e.g., for an enemy, stranger, executed criminal, pauper, slave, child, woman dying in childbirth, chief, shaman, warrior, person dying abroad, victim of accidental death, suicide, homicide, victim of epidemic or loathsome disease); ceremonies at the death of animals; etc. See also:

Disposition of war casualties	727	Disposition of miscarriages and stillbirths . . .	845
Notions about loathsome diseases	769	Disposition of victims of infanticide	847
Human sacrifice	789		

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

161

this cord now that the child is big?' If the grown child finds it himself, he will ask his mother to throw it away. If it were thrown away while the child is still small, he would become ill. This is explained on the grounds that some evilly-disposed person might find it and make bad medicine with it against the child. I have often been shown such bits of shrivelled cord, covered with lime-powder, lying in the bottom of these receptacles, and been told to which child each had belonged. The mother will not sell or part with a lime-pot containing her child's cord, for fear it might fall into the hands of some one who would bring disaster on the child.

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The placenta (*pem* or *piom*) is thrown on to a piece of areca-nut fibre and is shortly afterwards buried in the house, together with the membranes (*sīs*). A fire is made over the filled-in hole. If the placenta were thrown away into the bush some one might get hold of it and 'make poison' to kill the mother. It is noteworthy that the evil effects of carelessness with regard to the umbilical cord are thought to react on the child, those due to carelessness in the treatment of the placenta, on its mother.

If the child is born dead, the cord is not severed, but the body, with the placenta still attached, is buried in the house, near one of the side-walls. An early miscarriage, described as 'child not enough yet', is buried under the woman's bed.

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Immediately the cord has been severed, the baby is taken up and all means are used to make it cry lustily. As soon as its cry satisfies the attendant women, it is put to the breast. When it has proved that it is able to suck, it is taken away again, and its head and face are moulded by one of the attendant women, by pressure exerted at the back, sides, and forehead. This procedure is called *totobin*. They like the back and sides of the head to rise perpendicularly, without bulging. In later life their method of trimming the hair is also designed to emphasize this shape, which is also imitated in their ceremonial figures. The nose of the infant is pinched, so that it will not be too flat. Flat noses are much disliked, and if extreme become objects of ridicule. The mother continues this moulding and pinching at intervals, whenever she happens to think about it. As far as my personal observation goes, I do not think she does it often enough, or with enough persistent pressure, actually to cause any alteration in the shape of the child's head such as might be described as artificial deformation. No extraneous aids, such as

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun

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- 1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
- 1 fathom given to old man for making *upi* for *wapi* ceremony.
- 1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
- 1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.

Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]

1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [584]

1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]

1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]

Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]

Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.¹ With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart,

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¹ It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hbb*.

DEATH AND THE URAR

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While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the lingua franca. 768

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU,
LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good to bury him because some one might come and dig him up.¹ Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the fire which cooked the pigs for the feast. 765 766 565 [578] 768

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it. Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives change their names. 764 765 [565] 768 550

¹ This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *haham* (see p. 487).

DEATH AND THE URAR

765 The period of seclusion for the women is now finished, they may go to the taro garden, go fishing, and take up their ordinary life. The belts are still worn. If it rains they are taken off and covered up: it would be a very bad thing for the rain to wash the dirt off them.

765 When it is time to remove the belts a big feast is made. This is called *wakuruts m5*. The time is fixed by the person who is now
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DEATH AND THE URAR

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The body, when buried, seems always to have been placed in the extended position. No special orientation seems to have been given to the grave, for in all the graveyards I visited no attempt

DEATH AND THE URAR

764 had been made at uniformity of arrangement, each grave seemed to have been dug at the choice of the persons digging. All were very much neglected and overgrown, but the new cemeteries which are now to be found in connexion with most villages where there is a resident mission teacher are kept tidy under his supervision. Graves in these new cemeteries are marked with roughly carved wooden crosses. Graves in the pagan graveyards were marked with cordyline plants, or, most often, not marked at all, though the relatives knew where they were and pointed them out to me. They [152] did not mind going there in daylight, but only very special circumstances would induce them to go after dark.

No distinction was made in the graves of women and children, and no special portion of the graveyard was assigned to them. [766] Children who die at birth or very shortly after are still buried in the house; for them there is no wailing. Otherwise, children are wailed for and buried in just the same manner as adults. Wailing is not confined to the village in which the person died. One evening the sound arose from a house near my own. Knowing of no death in the village, I made inquiries and was told that news had just been received of the death of Kiots, the sister of Marotē's mother, at Ieta. The wailing went on for a short time only, but next evening it was repeated; the reason then given was 'because Marotē and Peaē are sorry again about their "mother!"'

[762] Persons who die by suicide are, if their bodies can be recovered, wailed for and buried just like any other dead, and I did not learn that any special treatment was thought to be meted out to them in the after-world. Unfortunately, I omitted to ascertain what was thought to be the fate of persons whose bodies were not available for funerary rites.

CANNIBALISM

266 In the olden days, under certain circumstances, the bodies of
766 the dead were eaten. The bones of such victims were afterwards buried without ceremony, with the exception of the jaw, which was cleaned and hung up in the 'men's house'.¹ There seemed to be no fear of the *urar* of such people returning to plague those who had eaten them.

266 Like many, probably most, of the groups who practise, or used
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¹ The jaws of pigs eaten on ceremonial occasions are now substituted for human jaws.

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727 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him
266 down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They
singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white
underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and
take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into
lices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at
the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat
them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohe*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man
brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got
them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and
appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our
fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they
used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg,
and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go
home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our
place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were
hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human
flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy,
had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never
[858] allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would
562] become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given
was 'because they were frightened'.

266 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a
565 ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to
766 the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47)
614 and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been
eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child
to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on
p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my
notice.

266 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own
681 people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for
having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as
follows:

266 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the
681 relation of *wat/sio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment
of both from the village.

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775 know the man who made poison for you; when he comes here I will put him in the fire; I will go and look for him.' So Tosisiup lies in wait for the man who caused the death.

The dead man is taken by Magor and told to climb up an arecappalm. While he is up in the tree Magor cuts a hole in his buttocks and fastens a tail on to him, a long tail, just like a dog's. Then he takes a spear and pierces the man's eyes, presently they become just like fire. Then gradually, as his body decays, he becomes an *urar*. The change is not complete until his bones stink. After this he lives in the place belonging to Magor.

Everybody, when he dies, becomes an *urar*. When pigs and dogs¹ and fowls die, they also go to the place of Tosisiup and Magor. But they cannot talk, they just stay there.

One of the young men made a drawing to explain to me what the dead person looked like while he was undergoing the change into an *urar* (Fig. 29). He explained that the one on the right had only recently died and his body had not yet decayed. The claw-like things he said were the man's 'water' that had come down (possibly this may refer to the fluids exuded during decomposition). [764] The fourth, which is drawn as though sitting on the head of the third, is wearing the cocks' feathers with which the head of a dead person is sometimes adorned before burial.

Information obtained on the island of Tiop, NE. Bougainville

During a brief visit to the island of Tiop, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Bougainville, I obtained a little information from one of the old men, which is subjoined for the sake both of its similarities and of its differences.

The place of all the *urar* (= Kurtatchi *urar*) is called Tatau'ora. When a man dies he goes to it. It is near Mapiri, past Arigua (two places farther down the east coast). It is inside the thick bush, at a place where there is a hole where there is white paint (*kerewo*). The name of the hole is Namakerewo. When a man dies he goes first to Namakerewo and is painted with white paint. The men of Namakerewo go and catch some fish (*bōri*) that are black, and have a strong smell. They put them in a pot and cook them, and take

[23] ¹ These are the only domestic animals known to the natives. Wild animals and birds were not mentioned in this connexion. When a favourite dog dies it is buried with loin-cloths and a feast is made for it. I knew of a dog, killed by a wild pig, for which this was done. But pigs are always eaten; even when they die of disease!

unexpectedly and immediately went on board, where his people proposed the plan to him. In his laconic manner he answered: "Good! Do what you want to, but I am on the side of the white men." Obviously the hostile venture did not come to pass, and with the aid of Goral and the islanders who had recently been so hostilely disposed, they succeeded [5] in setting their schooner afloat again. A favorite expression of the old man was: "To be sure, I have a black skin, but my heart is white." When he died in 1894 one of his last commands was that no slaves be killed after his death--a custom that even today is still practiced in Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands upon the death of a chieftain. A few years ago I was lying at anchor in the little Baniu Bay on the north coast of Bougainville. A great part of the coastal people was absent, as I found out, on a war expedition against the mountain people. On the following morning the whole group, about fifty men, came back and brought along as a prisoner of war a man who was carrying a child about a year old in his arms. Upon interrogation it turned out that, farther inland, they had surprised a number of natives who were quietly working on a plantation; men as well as women had hastily taken flight, and they had not succeeded in taking any prisoners. Since, however, the inland villages had now been alarmed, they gave up their war expedition and retreated to the previously mentioned plantation to pass the night there. During the night they had heard a slight noise and, suspecting an attack by the mountain people, had carefully kept watch; they saw a single man who walked forward, looking around cautiously, until, having reached a banana tree, he picked up a child and then just as cautiously started out on his way back. He and the child had then been silently surrounded and captured. The child had been forgotten by its mother during the hasty flight. When it was finally missed, the father had returned, despite the risks connected with it, to seek and save his offspring in the hiding place known to him; he was more than a little surprised when I bought him free with a few articles and he was told he could return home safely--which he hastily did.

These examples, I believe, suffice to demonstrate that despite cannibalism and other not particularly gentle customs and practices, the northern Solomon Islanders on the whole are not so cruel and wild as they have been otherwise described. They contrast very favorably in comparison with the inhabitants of the other islands of the archipelago, especially with the notorious headhunters of Vella Lavella and New Georgia. To be sure, feuds of greater and lesser duration are not infrequent among neighboring tribes, especially between the coast inhabitants and the mountain dwellers, but on the other South Sea Islands quite similar conditions prevail and it occurs to

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chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville, and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

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Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siual, but likewise no farther north than there.

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

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Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

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